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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

11 January 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Allan Evans, State (INR)
Colonel R. M. Lawson, USAF (AFCIN 2B3)
Colonel J. W. Strain, USA (ACSI)
Captain A. D. Kilmartin, USN (ONI)
Colonel J. H. McCann, USAF (J-2, The Joint Staff)
[redacted] Director of Operational Services, NSA
Mr. Randolph V. Zander, Defense (OSO)

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SUBJECT : Terms of Reference, NIE 100-2-60: THE OUTLOOK
FOR SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

1. The attached terms of reference were agreed on at the meeting of the USIB representatives on 11 January.
2. All agencies are invited to contribute to any section within their competence to do so.
3. It is requested that contributions be received in this office by the close of business on 12 February.

Chester L. Cooper
CHESTER L. COOPER
Deputy Assistant Director
National Estimates

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SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE 100-2-60: THE OUTLOOK FOR SINO-
INDIAN RELATIONS

THE PROBLEM

To assess the outlook for Sino-Indian relations and their
international implications.

SCOPE NOTE

This estimate will discuss trends in Sino-Indian relations with
particular emphasis on how these relations will affect, or be
affected by, the comparative internal conditions, domestic policies,
and military capabilities of India and Communist China; their
general foreign policies; and the likely impact of the developing
situation on other countries -- especially the non-Communist states
of Asia.

I. NATURE OF SINO-INDIAN RELATIONS

A. Discuss past and present Communist Chinese policy vis-a-vis
India itself and as it relates to Sino-Indian relations throughout

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Asia. What has been the rationale of this policy? What is the significance of the border dispute in the broader Chinese view of Sino-Indian relations?

B. Discuss India's policy toward Communist China in recent years, both vis-a-vis Communist China itself and with respect to Chinese activities in other Asian countries. What has been the rationale behind India's policy? To what extent have Chinese border activities altered India's basic policy toward China?

C. To what extent is there a rivalry for influence or leadership in Asia? What is the nature of the rivalry? How is the issue viewed by the Chinese and Indian leaders and how widely is it felt in the two countries?

D. What techniques has each side used thus far in seeking influence in Asia, and to what effect (i.e. propaganda, UN, Bandung, military and economic pressures and assistance, cultural exchanges, etc.)?

II. BORDER FACTS AND MILITARY CAPABILITIES

A. What are the bases of respective Indian and Chinese claims to the area? What is the present situation with regard to de facto Indian and Chinese control in the

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areas concerned? What are local attitudes toward India and China in the areas concerned?

B. What is the strategic significance of the border areas to India and China? What military forces have China and India in the Himalayan regions? What steps has India taken to increase its military strength along the frontier? What are the logistical problems faced by the two countries in the area? What are the major strengths and weaknesses of each side with regard to carrying on military operations in this area -- either large or small-scale? How might large-scale fighting develop, and to what extent would India be able to defend the territories it claims? If India finds itself unable to produce or purchase from customary sources the military equipment it regards as necessary, is it likely to seek military assistance from the West?

III. CHINESE STRATEGY

A. What is China's future policy toward India likely to be? What concessions, if any, might China make to achieve an easing of tensions? What effect, if any, is the outburst of anti-Chinese and anti-Communist sentiment in India likely to have on Chinese policy? To what extent are the Chinese prepared to push their

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claims at the risk of more serious political or military troubles with India? What are the chances that China might attempt to seize additional portions of the disputed territories? What are Chinese objectives and probable tactics as regards Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim?

B. How is Chinese policy toward India likely to affect or be affected by internal affairs in China?

C. What has been Peiping's reaction to the Soviet role in the Sino-Indian controversy? To what extent might the USSR prove willing and able to affect Peiping's policies toward India?

IV. INDIAN RESPONSE

A. What has been the effect in India of China's policy of truculence? What steps has India taken to date, and what further steps is it likely to take to cope with the Chinese? How has the conflict with China affected Indian attitudes and policies toward the West and what is the outlook for further changes? Under what conditions -- if at all -- is India likely to abandon its policy of nonalignment? How is the controversy likely to affect Indian relations with Pakistan? With other Asian States?

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B. How has the dispute with China affected Nehru's position in India? What effect is it likely to have on the future of the Congress Party? On the role of the military in India? On Indian economic goals and progress? What effects has the dispute had on the Communist Party of India (CPI)? What would the effect of an intensification of the dispute be on the position of the CPI and the government's policies toward domestic communists? How is the CPI likely to deal with the problems posed for it by the Chinese stand?

V. EFFECT ON OTHER COUNTRIES

A. What has been the reaction of other Asian countries to China's recent border actions and India's response? How would the non-Communist countries of Asia react to a continued or increased policy of toughness by China vis-a-vis India? To a serious Chinese effort to reduce tensions?

B. To what extent are other Asian nations likely to be influenced by the comparative success of Indian and Chinese efforts to modernize their societies? What would be the effect on other Asian states of rapid progress in both India and China? Of moderate or slow progress in both countries? Of significantly greater progress by China? By India?

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